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THE

Memorial Address

ON

ABRAHAM LINCOLN,

DELIVERED AT THE

HALL OF THE MECHANICS' INSTITUTE,

Saint John, N. B.

JUNE 1, 1865.

AT THE INVITATION OF THE CITIZENS.

BY

CHARLES M. ELLIS, ESQ..

of Boston, Mass.

SAINT JOHN, N. B.:

J. & A. McMILLAN, 78 PRINCE WM. STREET,

1865.

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MAYOR'S OFFICE,

St. John, N. B., 2nd June, 1865.

GENTLEMEN,—

Having been present last evening, by your kind invitation, "to attend the memorial exercises at the Hall of the Mechanics' Institute," in common with the citizens present I was much pleased to note the fine and fraternal feeling that pervaded the whole assembly.

The oration of the occasion in memoriam of the death of the late President of the United States, Abraham Lincoln, delivered by the Hon. Mr. Ellis, of Massachusetts, was in such good taste, and taking so large and comprehensive a view of the whole subject, that in my mind the publication and circulation of the same, would enable many in this City and Province to obtain a better knowledge of the late disturbance in the United States, than they have at present.

If this could be accomplished without inconvenience, I hope it may be done, as I am well convinced it would give great satisfaction. And I would respectfully suggest that the proceedings in detail might be set out, which reflect such good taste on the part of the Committee of the United States' subjects residing in this city.

I am respectfully, your friend,

I. WOODWARD,

MAYOR.

TO E. D. JEWETT, O. SMALL, A. CUSHING, Esqrs., Committee.

Saint John, June 2nd, 1865.

HON. C. M. ELLIS.

Dear Sir,—We enclose a note just received from his Worship, Mayor Woodward, expressing the desire that your address delivered last evening at the Hall of the Mechanics' Institute, should be published for general circulation.

Should you feel disposed to leave us your manuscript for that purpose we shall feel great pleasure in complying with the desire of his Worship.

Respectfully yours,

OTIS SMALL,
E. D. JEWETT,
A. CUSHING.

St. John, June 2nd, 1865.

GENTLEMEN—

I have just had the pleasure of receiving your kind note enclosing the letter sent to you by his Worship, the Mayor of this City.

As it is his wish and your pleasure, I cheerfully give you the Address for publication, though so little time was left me since Saturday last when first I knew that I was to have the honor of taking part in your meeting, I know it needs to be very charitably judged.

I am faithfully, your friend,

C. M. ELLIS.

MESSRS. OTIS SMALL, E. D. JEWETT, A. CUSHING.

[The Order of Exercises adopted by Committee of Management, and carried out, at the Public Meeting held in the Hall of the Mechanics' Institute, will be found on the following page.]

In Memoriam.

MECHANICS' INSTITUTE, JUNE 1, 1865.

ORDER OF EXERCISES.

VOLUNTARY on the Organ, - by Professor ALLAN.
PRAYER, - - - - - - - - - " Rev. OLIVER BROWN.
ANTHEM, 'Hear, Father, hear our Prayer.' " THE CHOIR.
ADDRESS, - - - - - - - - " Hon. C. M. ELLIS.

HYMN, (in which all are requested to join.)

1 Great King of nations hear our pray'r
While at Thy feet we fall,
And humbly with united cry
To Thee for mercy call.

2 When dangers like a stormy sea,
Beset our country round,
To Thee we look'd, to Thee we cried,
And help in Thee we found.

3 With one consent we meekly bow
Beneath Thy chastening hand,
And pouring forth confession meet,
Mourn with our mourning land.

4 With pitying eye behold our need,
As thus we lift our prayer,
Correct us with thy judgments, Lord,
Then let thy mercy spare.

SHORT ADDRESSES, - - by Citizens of St. John.
PRAYER, - - - - - - - - " Rev. JOHN BREWSTER.
BENEDICTION. - - - - - " Rev. W. V. GARNER.

GOD SAVE THE QUEEN.

God save our gracious Queen,
Long live our noble Queen,
God save the Queen.
Send her victorious,
Happy and glorious,
Long to reign over us.
God save the Queen.

2 Through every changing scene,
O Lord preserve the Queen,
Long may she reign,
Her heart inspire and move,
With wisdom from above,
And in a nation's love,
Her throne maintain.

3 May just and righteous laws
Uphold the public cause,
And bless us all,
Home of the brave and free,
The land of liberty;
We pray that still on thee
Heaven's smile may fall.

4 And not this land alone,
But be Thy mercy known
From shore to shore.
Lord make the nations see
That men should brothers be,
And form one family,
The wide world o'er.

ADDRESS

BY

CHARLES M. ELLIS, ESQ.

THE dire war which for four years slavery has waged against the Union is ended. This final effort to complete the revolution which had been so long in progress, and for a generation past so rapidly, so nearly effected, has failed. The last remnant of the Rebel army beyond the Mississippi has surrendered. That government which, so recently proudly claimed a place amongst the nations, has vanished, and will never more be seen again. The chiefs in their cells, indicted as Traitors, as felons await the sure course of justice, which we of British blood deny and delay no man. A part of the Federal armies,—some hundreds of thousands of men,—have just been reviewed at the Capitol and are now being disbanded. On every line of conveyance, to the remotest parts of the country, you see the war worn men lying with their heads upon their knapsacks going home to their old labors; and often some of their comrades, freed at last from Libby or the stockade, wan and wasted, carried in strong arms, or on stretchers, tenderly borne homeward, to be nursed back to life again by loving hands, or to die,—proofs of the depth of that barbarism which hurried to treason and civil war, and resorted to fire, starvation, poison, pestilence, and assassination,—though all in vain, for their wrath only

served God's purposes. All over the North, men are falling into the quiet, well-worn, pleasant paths of peace, which is beginning to shed her blessings on the regenerated South.

The guide, the leader of his people, ABRAHAM LINCOLN, the Saviour of his country, has been foully murdered, brutally slain by the side of his wife, by one of a gang of conspirators who thought to effect for Slavery and Freedere, *by anarchy*, what they had failed to do by civil revolution and intestine war; but he is with the just, and with vision free from mortal obstructions sees the good of his life, the good of his death, and lives in the throbbing hearts of his countrymen, whilst his country goes steadily on.

It has pleased you to join with us in the observance of this day set apart by the executive of the United States on account of the loss of their good President, as you united with them also in the last rites, on the sad day of his funeral; moved by honor and love for the true man, respect and sympathy for his cause, good will to our country, reverence for the interests of humanity.

If it were possible to make any fit response to the feelings you thus express, to tell with what emotions the people of the United States meet you in such acts it would be enough.

The sentiments expressed by your Queen; by the unanimous voice of both houses of the Imperial Parliament; by the press; by people of all ranks and classes, across the water; and especially throughout these Provinces, by you, our next neighbors and friends; manly, just, generous, fraternal were such as became the race. They came from true hearts, and went to the hearts of our people who

boast the same lineage with yourselves. Accept my thanks for the honor you conferred in asking me at this hour, to speak of him, for his countrymen, to you. Yet it is somewhat difficult, now, when his life and character have been so fully, constantly, ably, exhaustively discussed to offer any new thoughts, and to present the relation of his life to the history of America and of man, to citizens of another government.

With the events of the life of Abraham Lincoln you are, doubtless, sufficiently familiar; though, probably, five years ago most of you knew little of him, and many of you nothing whatever. But the events of generations have been crowded into five years and his character is already historic.

You know all; his birth in Kentucky, a slave State, in 1809, of poor parents; how they migrated with him a lad of eight, their all on a raft, to Indiana; how he helped to build there the log cabin in which they lived; his buckskin clothes and coonskin cap; the little schooling whereby he got the elements of what he called his "defective education;" the Dilworth Spelling-book; a little writing; for the higher branches, a little arithmetic; his books, the Bible which his mother taught him to read, Pilgrim's Progress, Æsop's Fables, the Life of Washington; the flat-boat voyage of the youth to New Orleans; then when he came to manhood the new migration to Illinois; his building a new log house there; splitting rails and building rail fence; working out on a farm; tending store; keeping store; studying and practising surveying; a while postmaster; leading a company as captain to the Black Hawk war; then studying law and beginning its successful practice when nearly thirty; serving three years

in the legislature of his State; then stumping his State then in Congress, condemning the Mexican war but sustaining his country, not meddling with Slavery where the Constitution protected it, but striving to abolish it in the District of Columbia by prospective emancipation; his remarkable canvas against Douglass in which Abraham Lincoln prophetically said "*this country could not be divided, or be half slave, half free; but would be all slave or all free.*" You know all down to his nomination as President in 1860.

A poor, plain, simple, honest, laborious, American life, with learning drained chiefly from nature, made a man, healthy, strong, self-reliant, calm, true, honest, brave, diligent,—developed all the manlier qualities.

He learned to look into and to do things for himself—whether to build a cabin, split rails, build a flat-boat, keep store, survey, try causes, stump, legislate, or "run any machine" whatever; and in a way which cultivated his native carefulness and modesty, got a consciousness of his own resources.

Simple, truthful and frank; honest of purpose; of perfect mental integrity; quiet always: slow to move, but of inflexible firmness; never irritated nor passionate; always self-possessed; always in good humor; laborious; always fair; devoutly religious; under this wholesome American education, Abraham Lincoln grew up a sound man.

Yet, when presented for the Presidency, though favorably, he was not widely nor was he thoroughly known. Men had been accustomed to look in other quarters for statesmen. The people had not learned to trust themselves or their own men. It was an hour of peril. Wise men amongst us had fearful forebodings. You, no doubt thought that the choice of such a man at such a time, in-

dicated a sad state of affairs in our Republican Democracy.

It seemed, indeed, that the odds were all against the country. The South, desperate, united, always victorious, with a strong body of allies,—accessories—throughout the North; the North divided; the South and their supporters thoroughly organized, sustained by many presses, supported by mercantile interests and commercial relations; with powerful associates abroad as well as at home; having labored to this one end for many years,—through generations; supported by a public opinion it had moulded for its service;—opposed only by a new unorganized body, whose principles were not popular, however true; indirectly aided by the intermediate conservative body of neutrals; the South chose to bring to a bloody issue the sectional contest with the North, having on its side the power of the government; its legislation; the judiciary; the executive; the press; patronage; the power of parties; old traditions and ideas; domestic and foreign prejudices; possession which gave show of ~~perspective~~ *present* right,—sure, sure, at last of completing the Revolution which they had been so long plotting and in peace steadily and swiftly consummating, by an easy victory. They seemed to have all the odds.

So seemed, save to those who had faith in the people and the truth—faith in man and trust in God.

So it seemed in March, 1861, at his inauguration, to many even of our loyal Northern men, and of course to those of questionable patriotism: so it must have seemed to many, if not to most of you. So it did to more distant countries who knew yet less of us. For the man was but little known, and the people were no better known, knew not themselves. Americans, alone, who felt the beating

of their country's heart, who knew what was moving beneath parties, creeds, philosophies, ethical and political systems, who saw that the people would be true, though the press and parties, pulpits and professors, faltered; Americans who trusted in the power of God, such alone were fearless and welcomed the days that were coming. But Americans did not universally, nor even generally, understand America. No wonder if other people mistook her.

Looking back, now, we see what was the American people. The man they had chosen to lead, or as he thought to serve them, now seems to have been so exactly fitted for his work that he is often spoken of as providential.

You have, of course, watched the events, the military especially, of these four glorious years; and must be familiar with them and with the general policy and civil administration of the Government.

You will remember that Abraham Lincoln was elected for no purpose but to stay any further progress of Slavery and to secure the rights of all the States and territories. That was the highest average faith of any organization that could be formed against the Slave ~~Trade~~. You will remember that the traitors conspired to sunder the Democratic party and ensure his election, and threaten or effect secession, and rule or ruin the country. You know that the legislature had always given what Slavery asked, Missouri Compromise, Compromises of 1850, Fugitive Slave Bill,—all; so had the Judiciary—just falsified history and usurped power to make the Dred Scott decision, justly making you and us, whose common ancestors held to the law of the Somerset case, blush for shame at one backsliding: so had the Executive, Louisiana, Florida,

Texas ; and within a few weeks proposed an "explanatory amendment" to our Constitution to guarantee the extreme demands of Slavery.

You know the state in which our country was ; with few troops, in garrison, at distant points ; at the North little or no military organization ; no military education or experience ; the South having been long preparing ; drilling ; getting ammunition ; having seized nearly all the forts and arsenals south of Mason and Dixon's line ; the country with only twenty-six war vessels, and those scattered ; and, politically, having always conceded to slavery, now striving at no more than to resist its further encroachments, threatened with war and shrinking from it ; and, morally, too, having for its faith compromise.

Physically, the power did not then seem so clearly with the North as it now appears to have been. It had indeed 20,000,000, but the South had 12,000,000, and of these 4,000,000 to work whilst others fought. The North had, indeed, manifold the wealth of the South ; crops and manufactures that outweighed all theirs, but cotton and sugar, rice and tobacco, seemed to have more obvious commercial influence than hay and grain and shoes, and cotton was called King. The South had the constitution as interpreted and expressed, and by a line of decisions and course of legislature from 1793 till 1857, turned *wrong-side-out ;* the North had the constitution as it was originally. But even that made concessions to slavery, and the concession of aught was the concession of all.

The country stood in shameful contrast with the America of 1776 and 1787. The thirteen little colonies, nestling along the Atlantic seaboard, treasuring up sacredly the results of the life of our Anglo-Saxon race for a thousand

years, eliminating from them the maxims of natural law; and thereon undertaking self-government,—though poor, and feeble and few, yet by force of their moral and political faith and truth gave an impulse to the civilized world, so that France was revolutionized, England liberalized, the people of Europe freer; whilst the United States of 1850 to 1860, though stretching from ocean to ocean, 30,000,000 strong, rich, powerful, intelligent, was the reproach of civilization.

So strong indeed was the South in its own opinion, so strong to appearances, so changed from what it was once, that, unblushing, unconscious of wrong, it ventured to put under a constitution like our own, as its corner stone, Slavery; that is making it just what ours was by interpretation and exposition, and expected to force it on the country. So strong were they actually that they obliged the North to treat them, though traitors, and by law and justice worthy the traitor's doom, as belligerents.

You know well, too, the foreign embarrassments of our country. The South had many emissaries abroad, suborning the press, poisoning the public mind, appealing to foreign interest and prejudices.

Recal, now, the general course of events of his public life—from the time when, bidding farewell to his neighbours and friends, he asked them to "*pray that he might "receive that Divine assistance without which he could not suc-"ceed, but with which success was certain.*" Remember that in his inaugural address he said, "*I have no purpose, di-"rectly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of Slavery "in the States where it exists. I believe I have no lawful "right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so.*" Remember what efforts were made, in every form, for compromise

and peace. Bear in mind, too, that though it was obvious war made of all traitors or patriots, it was equally obvious that, in this civil war, treason was everywhere, and that the traitors in open arms found their most efficient aid from their abettors, who, in the guise of patriots, gave them aid and comfort;—with purse; by trade; in parties; by munitions and intelligence; crippling the loyal states; obstructing the Government; instigating riots; justifying secession; exulting in its successes; toiling for it with tongue and pen, at home and abroad;—traitors as much as themselves.

Bear in mind, too, that he was called to exercise a power untried, undefined, unknown. Those who understood the country knew that it was a nation. Those who had fully weighed its constitution knew that its framers had not, like fools, left the one great cause of their own woes through long years of weakness in war, military impotency. They knew it was a nation; one nation: with the amplest, with unlimited power for war.

Multitudes, in our country, everywhere, thought that the nation had no power to coërce the States or the people; that is, that there was no nation; that he had no power to act.

At first he seemed to hesitate, to question the extent of his power. Of the nation's he had never any doubt. At the outset he called for but seventy-five thousand men, acting under an old statute, marked obsolete in our books.

But the tempest raged as had not been dreamed of. In July, 1861, he told Congress that to make the contest short and decisive as many as 400,000 men and 400,000,000 dollars would be required.

Meanwhile the movement of things on the surface began

to indicate the course and the force of the great currents below. Slaves became "contrabands." Fugitives were furnished with employment. We had a fugitive slave bill, but common sense overruled it when fugitives came to our camps. Humanity could not let them starve. Slaves in the Confederate service were confiscated; taken away as property, kept as men. Our officers were forbid to return fugitive slaves.

But it did not seem to be understood what a *nation* was. Rather, it did not seem clear that self-government could, in so vast a civil rupture, preserve the element of nationality, or apply it, or that he had adequate power. But, soon it was seen that, under a constitution framed by the people, for the United States, every man was bound, he and all he had, to the support of the nation; that the elements of strength existed where it was thought there was weakness; that he had given to him adequate, unrestricted military power, in the simple, unqualified, and so amplest possible terms "Commander-in-Chief." If strong in peace, the country was stronger still in war.

Still he hesitated to exert his power. In August, 1861, General Fremont declared martial law and emancipation at the West, and was removed. The President was not ready to adopt the emancipation policy of Secretary Cameron. At the South, Hunter issued a proclamation for that end, and was likewise removed.

Still the current of history was sweeping him and the people onward. The days were long and dark; disasters came often. Dangers surrounded us. To the doubting, to the timid, ruin seemed inevitable. To the traitors, to their friends, success certain; though, now, it is plain that our success in the first year would have only restored the civil

power, and left the government and people to go on again under that, till slavery should have completed the revolution it had begun.

War, alone, stopped that revolution. Only our defeats and disasters led the nation on till, by war, by the war power of the constitution, the people were united, strengthened, and forced to extinguish slavery forever. Victory then would have been ruin.

But as the people moved, the President moved. Calm careful, conscientious, controlled by no party, section or interest, he was forced by the very pressure made on him by every shade of opinion, as well as by his own habit, to decide his own course of duty and run the machine for himself. But thus his course was the resultant of the forces of twenty million men: that is the course of history. His movements were the aggregate force of this mighty people. A leader, a man of Napoleonic type, of ambition, of will, theory, might have ruined, surely would have embarrassed the country.

Gradually the current began to sweep things along, at first slowly. In 1862, he urged a plan for gradual, compensated emancipation of the several border States. He looked for what was practicable as well as what was right. He must build his house and fence of such logs and rails as he had or could split. He issued a proclamation in September, 1862, announcing the great step to be taken the coming new year. This too was a dark year. The military campaign was not successful. Still the country seemed to be gathering strength. Slavery was abolished in the district of Columbia; forbidden forever in the Territories: negroes began to be enlisted. The people began to grow confident, to put forth their power, not to call

for levies of men by hundreds of thousands and money by millions, but, as of yore, to pledge their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor, to lay all, all, on the altar of country.

Then came the immortal proclamation of Freedom of January 1, 1863.

Then it began to lighten up. The ship was off a dangerous shore; but she had sea room; the Captain was at the helm; she was well manned; though leaking yet the pumps kept her free; her sails were set; the ocean currents were sweeping her to safety; the breezes of heaven wafted her on her course. In July, 1863, came the victories at Vicksburg. The Mississippi was opened, the rebellion severed in two. That year began the general enlistment of colored men as soldiers; Virginia, Missouri, the Cherokees abolished slavery. In November, at Gettysburg, Abraham Lincoln declared "*this Nation, under God, shall have a new birth of Freedom. "Government of the people, by the people and for the people "shall not perish from the earth.*" He had taken observations; got his reckoning; knew the strength of his vessel; saw whither the course of history set; had confidence in the people, and being a faithful servant of them, confidence in himself; and absolute trust in God. He began that year by declaring every slave within the rebel States free forever. From that time success was constant, victory sure. In December, 1863, offering amnesty to the rebels and announcing a scheme for the restoration of civil power, for he never had a dream of ambition, he said that "*the policy of emancipation and of employing black soldiers gave to the future a new aspect about which hope, and fear, and doubt, contended in uncertain conflict,*" and the next

spring he wrote to friends in Kentucky that then "*at the "end of three years' struggling the Nation's condition is not "what either party or any men devised, or expected. God "alone can claim it. Whither it is tending seems plain. If "God now wills the removal of a great wrong, and wills, also, "that we of the North as well as you of the South, shall pay "fairly for our complicity in that wrong, impartial history will "find therein new causes to attest and revere the justice and "goodness of God.*" Still there were vast obstructions; opposition, disaster enough to consolidate and strengthen the people in their work. The South had allies in the North, criminally agitating, in print and speech, against the Country, fomenting bloody riots in New York, Boston, and other places; allies abroad, co-conspirators urging on parliament to recognize the Southern Confederacy independent.

You know the course of military and naval victories of the next year. You know the course of progress in civil affairs—the admission of the right of colored men as witnesses; their right to education;—Arkansas, Louisiana, Maryland free, self-made free; the fugitive slave bill repealed; a new Supreme Court; the citizenship of colored men and freedmen recognized and confirmed.

You know the great political event of last year, an event in the world's history as well as in ours, how an opposition in the interests of treason was attempted to be organized against the nation, to reassert the of-old omnipotent principle of compromise; to guarantee the rights of the States and territories intact, and by old associations and prejudices and interests, with the help of military glory, to restore things as they were before the war began. But the ideas, the interests, the errors of the past

generation had vanished. The people looked to the long, the distant past, the far-opening future. Abraham Lincoln was unanimously nominated upon the principles of nationality ; the utter extirpation of slavery ; and the constitutional prohibition of it forever. A common election, a political contest ; a desperate effort of secession,—it proved to be another pulsation of the heart of humanity, a new uprising of the people in their power, resting on their faith in God. Chosen almost unanimously he embodied the mind, the heart, the faith of America.

You know the rest, the judgment, the execution. You know the vast sweep of the armies taking many States as in a net ; how the constitutional amendment forever forbidding slavery was passed in Congress and ratified by so many states ; how then the final victories of war came, and he walked up the streets of Richmond, leading his boy by the hand, amidst the benedictions of the race he had freed.

You know all the rest ; how treason showed its hellishness and tried its last resort in murder ; how without disease or pain, with a smile in his face, he passed from mortal life ; you know the wretched, lingering, agonizing death of the beastly assassin ; the bursting of the hollow shell of secession,—the mean, contemptible flight, disguise and capture of the leaders of the traitors. It seems as if the devil, having had them for his allies and used them as his tools, left them in despair and in revenge, robbed of human sympathy, to be the laughing-stock aud scorn of mankind forever.

In his election and by his death our country and mankind were taught two important political lessons ; one that the executive elections, in which the wisest jurists had

supposed there was the greatest danger to a democracy, could be safely conducted in the worst of times, that the people can protect themselves : the other, that no other form of government is so secure from disturbance, from interruption of its executive functions by death, disease, or otherwise, as those in which the executive is elective ; nay, that the destruction of its executive head is impossible.

Such was the private life, the public history of Abraham Lincoln ; the former inspired with the spirit of America, the latter the embodiment of the history of her most glorious days.

American born ; bred by America ; at manhood he stood six feet four. In this spontaneous movement of society he moved with the people, though he towered above them, and as leader and legislator was only the servant of their thought and will, as he saw their purpose to be the design of the Almighty.

And are not you fit judges of his private and his public life? you who judge by those laws in which your history and ours, and the issues of freedom and humanity are united and confluent.

Contemplate, now, his *personal character*. What was the volume of his mind ? Who was ever freer from all disturbing elements : pride ; ambition ; prejudices ; social, political, professional influences ; no false philosophy ; no pet theories, misled him. Ready to meet, to hear, to answer the wisest of any craft ; adequate to every emergency ; shrewd ; wise as he was simple ; does he not in this respect fall into the class of such as Franklin, Socrates ?

How large was his heart ? He not only was wise in thought, timely in speech, prudent in action, but he gave

expression to the feelings of the nation. He spoke from his heart, and his fresh and honest emotions touched the heart of his people and of mankind, and set them throbbing What poor woman or soldier failed to secure his sympathy ? What poet or orator ever moved men more? What philanthropist was ever more zealous to serve his fellow men ? Whom did the world love better ?

How absolute was his trust in the laws of God? He had faith in humanity, believed in the conscience of the people, began and ended life in childlike faith, which Napoleon reached as the result of his so different life, that "there is no power without justice;" and in his last inaugural address, said "*the Almighty has His own purposes; "the judgments of the Almighty are righteous altogether.*"

For this combination of elements, attested by the unanimous judgment of men to have been faithfully applied through his life, whom will you place above him?

To judge of his *public character*, you must consider the relation of the public acts of his life, principles, and not to transient events; to learn his place in history you must see what he did for institutions of historic importance. To judge him as a public man, you must know the relation of his acts to the public mind, the intelligence of mankind; to the human heart, the conscience of the world; to the law of God, the Divine purpose.

You will regard little his origin or education, little whether his powers were native or acquired; how he started; or what course he took. You look chiefly to the results in these relations. You will consider whether in these results he looked to personal, local, transient interests or had regard to universal, permanent, absolute laws alone. Did he regard political, sectional ends, or his

country and mankind? the issues and fortunes of his administration, of his generation, or of the people for all coming time?

The judgments of people of other countries, especially of the people of contiguous English colonies, if not likely to be more correct than that of Americans, must at least be affected by some essential elements which Americans too often leave out of the accounts in the study of their own history and judging of their public men. America can be understood only by study of England. We must know the life of the Anglo Saxon race, the course of liberty in England for many centuries. We were not only united politically till our revolution, but civil liberty, there and here, was developed from the same principles, by the same laws; there indeed from the nature of our country, the necessities of our condition, some new elements earlier introduced; but till then essentially one people in our laws, our liberties: and since then differing more in form than in substance; in some points one in advance, in some the other. We have no hereditary rulers of the State, you no slaves. In our declaration we set forth certain absolute laws of nature, but we failed to live up to them and are paying the penalty. In many respects you have become freer than a people would be expected to be found under such a form of government. We take too narrow views and dwell too little on the unity of American and English, especially of American and Colonial history and lives, and on the laws of all human progress.

The best judge of American nationality is he who best understands British liberty. He best knows the wrong of American slavery who knows best the basis of English

and of human freedom; the foundation of all human law.

Look, then, at the elements of our Nationality. Distinguish temporary, local deposits. Explore the lower strata. Contemplate longer periods of time, larger relations, fundamental principles. Look beyond the issue of North and South; New England and Carolina; Atlantic and Pacific; America and England; the Old World and the New. Find on what they all rest in common.

Look beyond the issues of a canvas; the principles of parties; the compromises of this or many generations; the decisions of courts; even below the constitution of our country when you judge—and so too below all of yours, to the laws which under-lie and control all. Sweep away what is transient and fix what is true; to what they have in common and enduring, the laws on which all rest; to the deeper currents; the inner movements of states; the laws which govern the origin, growth, of nations. Study the laws of the life of races of men through centuries and cycles, the law of humanity.

And as by the study of the long course of history—our own as well as yours—and of it as part of all human history, you form a true idea of what a nation is, what the eternal laws of states are; by that standard judge the events of these last four years, and his public life in relation to them.

What then was American liberty? The result of English life and labor for so many centuries; the right to life, liberty, the pursuit of happiness, the protection of equal laws; justice and the right; a few simple moral and political axioms, eliminated, discovered, and applied in the course of ages, as the simple laws of other sciences also were discovered, recognized as absolute natural laws.

What was American nationality? The state as a divine institution, formed as men's fashions might require, but to conform to, to enforce the law of liberty; a country embodying in its institutions those laws, with power to enforce them; self-government, but government by the *law of Liberty.*

Such were they at the foundation. Practically there were local temporary concessions. But nothing was conceded to slavery but with the fair pledge that it should be extinguished, and with the express power reserved to the nation to enforce its extinction. Nothing was conceded to the States that was not subordinated to the powers of the one nation in which the people united.

But in the course of a mortal lifetime, at the accession of Abraham Lincoln, all had changed.

Once justice, liberty, law, the Nation; now, expediency, slavery, the States. You know what was the spirit and purpose of earlier days. But now public men, the rostrum, the pulpit, the professional chair, moralists, publicists, jurists, taught that the basis of all nationality was compromise, expediency. Ignoring the elements of national law, the principles of liberty, they sought to revive a long-exploded systems of morals and ~~of men~~: unblushingly, nay with fervor and zeal, with sheer madness that fancied itself patriotism, they proclaimed that that morality which regarded absolute justice was puerile, foolish, impious; that one nation, any nation was possible only by compromise; that patriotism was the noblest practical limitation of universal philanthrohy; and the only standard of duty was utility. The ethics of nationality had been forgotten. Secession, treason were the legitimate result. The policy of the parties,' the measures of leading men;

the statutes, decrees of the Courts; popular preaching; the press; teachings of schools and colleges; the tests of social, political fellowship; the laws of 1793 and of 1850; the policy of territorial extension from Louisiana to Texas, Kanzas, California; the dogma of Calhoun; the constitutional theory of Webster; the compromises of Clay; Andover; Princeton; Cambridge; judges; lawyers; divines; writers and scholars—all, all social, political, commercial influences joined in assertions that the original law of liberty was a sham. They united to undermine the ancient nationality.

Their rule was absolute; and seemed to be sure. Arrogant, intolerant they began the work of proscription. The mails were rifled; speech and the press muzzled; liberty sacrificed; the States stood first; the Nation was their servant and slavery's. Slavery ruled. Nationality was dying out. If peace had continued, revolution would have been completed, ruin have come.

A few moralists who taught justice; a few divines who preached the law of God; a few statesmen who held to the eternal obligation of divine law; poets who sang for freedom; and popular writers and orators who nursed the nation's love for liberty, most of them without position or power, and powerless to act against all this machinery of evil, Channing, Garrison, Adams, Parker, Whittier, Stowe, Sumner, Chase, and such, kept alive the nation's heart.

So Revolution was going on; the country was drifting to ruin. Slavery had controlled, and nearly practically extinguished both liberty and nationality.

But the tempest of war came and cleared the air again. When the shot was fired on Sumter and the flag hauled down, the scaffolding of the old parties, creeds, philoso-

phies, fell to the dust in a moment. It was obvious that it was treason against patriotism; secession against nationality; compromise against principle; slavery against humanity; expediency against justice. Parties dissolved. All this machinery stopped. The people hastened to undo the vile work of generations. The nation had been living on, and turned even the work of evil to its account.

It was plain, too, that all this machinery was thrown out of gear, useless, powerless, in a moment. For it had all depended on the civil administration of the government in its several branches, and the modes of controlling the masses in the walks and ways of peace; and now came *war:* the whole people must move as a military body; with their commander, by the laws of war. So all that vanished. Slavery, the naked, deadly, loathsome monster, must be met face to face. There could be no parley, no compromise. It was life or death with them now.

All at once the old nation was alive again; morals were taught; religion was preached; justice decreed; the Constitution was read as it had been in the beginning. The war power, as legitimate as necessary as the civil power, brought to an instant test parts of the political system that had never been thoroughly tried before.

It was his fortune to move with his people, its leader and head, in this vast movement of American society sweeping on again in the tide of humanity, and in his brief term sweeping away before it to oblivion the shades of seventy years.

You have noted his gradual developement, mind, heart and soul, and as the reason, sentiments, and conscience of the people stirred, he regulated the acts of the military and civil power; vast armies; the resources of a continent;

the events of generations, ages, crowded into these four years; so that at the helm, he brought safe this mighty ship back to her ancient course again.

So in four short years this man who came, unheralded, unknown, from the mass of the people, by his native greatness, or because he was a man of the people,—a true man, untrammelled by social, scholastic, ecclesiastical political or legal creeds, theories, or precedents, obliged to confront the powers ~~and~~ against the country, with the true principles and whole power of the government in open war; obliged, as well as inclined to heed the heart and conscience of the people and of humanity, and that alone, did more by his acts to shape ~~the~~ course after the laws of human progress than any other man.

And, without regarding the power he had vested in him by his high office and supreme command, it would be difficult to conceive how any man could have acquired over so vast an empire such complete moral control; as it is impossible to name one whose motives in the exercise of supreme power was so completely unquestionable. Therefore the people of his country recognize him, as you all do; as the representative American: the most American of Americans; the exponent of American life.

Under him, what a revolution has been wrought; ~~from~~ profound peace, with no preparation for war, an army of two million men, war on the vastest scale; from a little navy of twenty-six vessels, now about seven hundred vessels of war; manufactures developed enough to reimburse this outlay of thousands of millions; the enfranchised labor of a race enough to repay it; the energy, courage, principles of the people developed; from an inferior the country became a first rate power; it has advanced more

in these four years of trial than in fifty of prosperity, as a young man grows more in one year of adversity than in many of apparent success.

But all this material progress is nothing besides the moral regeneration of the country; nothing whatever.

Under him, by the blessing of the good God, the people preserved the country entire; the law of Liberty was restored to rule; Nationality triumphed.

It is now plain that Nationality is Humanity; that in fighting our cause we have fought for you, for self-government, and liberty regulated by law every where; for civilization, and the progress of mankind.

The work of his day, his work, was well done; all done: the work of war, felling and burning the forest. If the work of this day and the coming times, of clearing, culture, civilization, be done as well, it will be his glory to have redeemed America. If we fail, now or hereafter, and the roots of evil sprout and grow again, his will be the glory of having begun that work, ours the shame of its failure. Few, if any, names will stand out stronger or brighter in history than that of Abraham Lincoln.

How fortunate in his death! Having meekly, manfully, religiously, a faithful servant of his people and his God, done the greatest work of the ages; still the same simple, honest, trusting Christian, he laid aside the robes of mortality to see his Country united, free, its union sanctified and cemented by his martyrdom; its heart throbbing with love and gratitude inexpressible for him; and men of every clime, humanity joining in benedictions to him the good, the great, the true.

Blissful translation! Sufficient reward; that a life of such glorious service should have been crowned with a

death not less serviceable to the holy cause to which his life was devoted, which enlisted for his country and for him the sympathies of the world. On earth his name will last, long after the monuments men will erect shall have all crumbled to dust. As it is inscribed in the motto above you, "The memory of the just is blessed." The best monument will be the completion of the work that follows emancipation. Let the four million be freed as men, be men. To teach a boy to work, set him to work. To make a man a good citizen, make him a citizen. If there be risks, as there are, take them. There can be no risk so great as that of leaving a root or fibre of the evil in the ground. Let us leave no distinction which may increase; none to recall the evil days. Let us root out slavery, and all trace of it, now and forever.

Then will the world see the true glory of this war now closed, and of his life of devoted patriotism: that the law of all laws is the divine law; know the meaning and the strength of self-government; and that no State can stand secure that violates the law of human liberty, and the justice of God.

These colonies are all but waves of a mighty race, sweeping to these and to other shores, to Plymouth rock; and to Canada; to California, India, and Australia. In the course of centuries, the lessening differences of time and form will all be forgotten. Little will be remembered but such mighty convulsions in its course, if the unity and current of the life of the race itself be clear.

Possibly, at some future day, your colony and ours, of common origin; inheriting the same institutions; with the same native love for liberty, and law, justice and the right; alike in climate, productions, wants, position; with

one history in common; one common destiny; contiguous; with no natural barrier; so free in intercourse; so glad to show, so glad to receive, tokens of good will, may be even more closely united.

But whether ever united, or only joined in friendly alliance as now, till all shall have developed the laws of self-government and, in the progress of mankind, the people have become more and more a law unto themselves, you will ever feel a just pride that in this, their trial day, our people, your kinsmen, proved true to the spirit of their fathers; defended their faith that religious truth is the basis of government, and will honor the name of Abraham Lincoln, the Saviour of his country, the martyr for American Liberty.

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